114 midable task of presenting the entire economic life in Ukraine in a brief and concise manner, both from the aspect of its development and in its present state. The third section of the book which describes the cultural life of Ukraine, the Church, and the psychological characteristics of the people are products of the writer's pen.

● 121 The work as a whole has been composed from a historical point of view and includes the period up to the year 1939. It is to be particularly emphasised that it has been necessary to present this complete historical development of Ukrainian public life in order to be able to explain adequately the present situation. This is the first extensive treatise on Ukraine in English and for this reason it appeared advisable to take into account the historical preliminaries of the present. However, it has also seemed wisest not to proceed in the treatment beyond the year 1939, since reliable statistical data are lacking for an authoritative presentation of recent years. During the second World War the Ukrainian territory was so thoroughly devastated by military operations, and so great changes of a political character have taken place, that a correct treatment of the present situation is essentially impossible. To make the matter still more difficult is the fact that the Soviet government, in whose sphere of authority lies the entire native soil of Ukraine, gives out almost no statistics and when any do appear their validity is of a very doubtful character.

104 The book has set as its goal the illumination of all aspects of the Ukrainian problem. With the one exeption noted above it has been composed by Ukrainian scholars, and now appears for the public as authentically representative of Ukrainian public opinion. For that reason, it is appropriate that it should render the Ukrainian names, not in the general and customary Russian or Polish transliteration, but in the little known Ukrainian one. We use, therefore, "Chernvhiv" instead of the customary "Chernigov", "Kyiv" instead of the generally known "Kiev", "Lviv" instead of "Lemberg" or "Lwow", etc. However, in order to make the reader familiar with the Ukrainian form of the names, we include with this introduction a list of Ukrainian geographical and proper names in which the Ukrainian and usual

Republics and the events of the next years. The rise of Nazism seemed to them the all-important menace and the opening of World War II convinced them of this even more strongly. The sudden understanding between the Soviets and the Nazis and then the equally sudden attack of the Germans upon the USSR still did not clear up the situation. The West aided the Soviets and, despite one difficulty after another, they willingly conceded the Soviet demands as a contribution to a common victory and sought in the United Nations a common meeting place for all anti-Fascist states. With some misgivings they admitted the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic as independent states to the United Nations.

In the meanwhile, as Soviet armies pushed westward into the heart of central Europe, they spread out what has since been termed the iron curtain to mask from the eyes of the world the nature of their government. Step by step, information from the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, from Rumania and Bulgaria has grown increasingly difficult to secure. When China and North Korea passed within the same veil, the world began to awake.

The scanty reports from Ukraine today receive more attention than did the neglected information of thirty-five years ago. Yet that is still not enough.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian Communists have used the Ukrainian land and the Ukrainian population as the laboratory for their future conquests. It is there, among the Ukrainian people, that Lenin and his associates worked out their program of disintegration, infiltration, conquest, exploitation and russification that they have employed so successfully since the end of World War II. It has cost the Ukrainians dearly to serve as this laboratory. By the millions they have perished of starvation, execution, and deportation, and the other peoples of central and eastern Europe are meeting the same fate.

The object of this work is to study that process[1] insofar as it can be known. Other books have told the story of the Ukrainian

[1] [Process of Ukrainians serving as laboratory for later Soviet conquest -- Analyst]

struggle for independence, the efforts of the Ukrainian people to set up their own free and independent state. That story is not re-told here, for this book is concerned with the reverse of the picture—the efforts of the Ukrainian people to protect themselves, their mode of life and their culture, against the extension of the Soviet Russian influences, against that system which, starting from a declared policy of internationalism, has turned into a rigid, Russian imperialistic policy which weighs heavily upon every form and department of life. 121

It is not only a study of the past. What happened in Kiev and Kharkiv is happening to-day in Warsaw, in Budapest, in Bucharest and Sofia, in Ulan Bator, Peking and Pyongyang. It is the story of a process and it is from that point of view that we must view the developments in Ukraine and the methods of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Once that is grasped, much that is obscure in the history of the last years will become clear and we can see the process in its development and in its completed form. We will know what to expect and what methods can best be devised to check this creeping paralysis of civilization and bring back to mankind its hope for a civilized future.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

4 Emergence of Nationalism

186 endows it with peculiar interest. Few subjects are of greater importance for the understanding of the political forces shaping contemporary society than the interaction of nationalism, in its numerous manifestations, and socialism, in its divergent branches. Ukrainian nationalism is especially significant in this regard because it took form at the same time that Marxian socialism became influential as an ideology in the Russian Empire. As Ukrainian nationalism acquired definitely political aims and the dominant element of Russian Marxism took on the political form of Soviet Communism, the interrelationship between these two forces became increasingly complex.

●121 This circumstance, together with the intrinsic importance of Ukrainian nationalism as a force directed toward securing the support of one fifth of the population of the Soviet Union,[3] appears to justify a detailed study of Ukrainian nationalism, even though it has never attained its primary aim, the establishment of a truly independent state. Moreover, the importance of the interaction of nationalism and Communism suggests that the study be focused upon that part of Ukrainian ethnographical territory which between 1920 and 1941 was under Soviet control. This region, commonly known as the "East Ukraine," was subjected to the full impact of the Soviet system prior to the period covered in the present study, while the "West Ukraine" was divided among non-Communist Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia during most of the period between the two world wars. While the East Ukraine is emphasized, the West Ukraine is also considered at some length as the region in which nationalism was most vigorous and as that which served as a base for nationalist activities.

The present study is primarily political in theme, being directed to nationalism as a movement aiming at the establishment of an independent state. It is not limited to the political aspect in the narrow sense of the term, however. Since the Ukrainian

[3] Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1946) furnishes a comprehensive analysis of available Soviet census information. Some non-Soviet analyses, based of course on considerable extrapolation of available data, place the Ukrainian portion of the population of the USSR as high as one fourth.

nationalists did not succeed in organizing a state apparatus, there is little scope for the study of constitutional or legal structures. As will become apparent shortly, the nature of the various nationalist ideologies makes intensive study of Ukrainian political philosophy of limited value. Consequently, an effort has been made to follow the approach sometimes described as the "sociology of politics." The history of the nationalist parties has been traced and, insofar as possible, the diverse social elements of the nationalist movement have been described.

Many efforts have been made to analyze the nature of nationalism and to determine the sources of its vitality. None have been entirely successful, for, like all dynamic movements which spread far beyond their original habitats, nationalism has been colored and transmuted by the varied milieus in which it has become established. It is a problem of peculiar difficulty to determine what has caused the movement to take root at all in many countries; this is especially true of the Ukraine. One of the most frequent stimuli of the nationalist spirit is religion, but the establishment of a separate Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy was the result of growing nationalist feeling rather than its cause.[4] Another stimulus of nationalism is the existence of distinctive customs and ways of living. In addition to distinctive popular art forms, which will be referred to later, there was a marked difference between the pre-1917 social organization of most Ukrainian peasant communities and their Russian counterparts. The people of the Ukraine, for example, did not usually follow the predominant Russian system of "repartition," or periodic redistribution of farmlands, with all its implications of subordination of the individual peasant to the community.[5] In 1905, before this people was generally recognized as a distinct nation, that shrewd observer of the tsar's dominions, Mackenzie Wallace, made these remarks:

[4] See Chapter VIII.

[5] Cf. Geroid Tanquary Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime: A History of the Landlord-Peasant World and a Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 35, on the comparative absence of the practice of repartition.

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RDI Ukraine RD1

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS THE UKRAINE?

000 THE transformation of Czechoslovakia after the Munich agreement into a federal state has placed a poor and mountainous country formerly known under the name of 'Sub-Carpathian Russia,' later baptized 'The Autonomous Sub-Carpathian Ukraine,' into the front rank of European events.[1]

It is thus that the Ukrainian problem appears in Europe, made important by the number of the population which it concerns, by the extent of the territories which are affected, and by political and economic complications of immediate interest to four different States: the U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, and Hungary.

The importance of this problem is furthermore underlined by the role which it seems destined to play in the dynamic development of the German nation, in possibly guiding its future manifestation after that of the *Anschluss*, the annexation of Sudetenland, of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakia. In this the problem clearly has an international character.

. . . . .

121 The aim of this book is to explain the Ukrainian problem to British readers both in its entirety and in all its particular aspects; geographical, historical, ethnographical, economic, and political.

[1] Reannexed on 20 March 1939 by Hungary, this country has readopted the name of Sub-Carpathian Russia or Ruthenia.

EDITORIAL NOTE

121 In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

● 121 It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Soviet Union RL

those the minorities possessed; and the necessity for knowing Russian would be heightened by drawing the minorities into the industrial, commercial and political life of the country as a whole. Meanwhile, literacy in the minority languages would facilitate the spread of communist doctrines stressing the international solidarity of the working-class against capitalism. To achieve unity while allowing the free use of minority languages might be the long — and perhaps very dangerous — way around, but Lenin believed it would be the only effective way in a backward, heterogeneous country like Russia.

The Soviet leaders were so certain that eventual lingustic uniformity could be attained only through temporary diversity that they went further in emphasizing minority languages than any state has ever gone: they made vigorous attempts to foster the actual use of the minority languages, to "nationalize" (i.e., "Ukrainize," "Armenianize," "Tartarize") political organizations, administrative apparatus, factory managements, trade-unions, military units, newspapers, books, theatres and schools, among the minorities. In their desire to retreat from the old Imperial policy of Russification, they leaned over so far backward that they introduced the element of compulsion in the opposite direction: they forced the national minorities and the Russians living among them to use the local languages in political, economic and cultural life, stopping short only at the threshold of the individual's private world. The ultimate effect of this policy upon the increase or decrease of nationalism among the minorities is not yet apparent, and the fate of such nationalism may hinge upon such factors as economic prosperity, political liberty and developments in the field of international relations; but the process of nationalizing the political, economic and cultural life of the minorities is an experiment which deserves more attention from the non-Soviet political and scholarly world than it has received.

In the field of education, the Soviet régime has followed a four-fold policy: first to establish a school system embracing all children; secondly, to promote the spread of communist doctrines by integrating them into the curriculum; thirdly, to nationalize the school system by introducing the languages of the minorities as the languages of instruction in schools attended by children of the minorities; and, fourthly, to pave the way for eventual assimilation by providing for the study of Russian as a separate subject in the schools of the minorities. The first two aspects of this policy are complex subjects, each of which deserves a separate study. The present discussion will therefore treat only of the linguistic phases of the Soviet educational policy: the nationalization of education — that is, the use of minority

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1
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languages as the media of instruction; and the study of Russian as a separate subject.

In setting out to nationalize education, the Soviet régime has encountered many obstacles: Russian nationalists — and there were some even among the Communists — opposed the policy; text-books and teachers were scarce; and the more backward minorities did not even possess a written language of their own. As the exigencies of space prevent the investigation of all the problems encountered in the nationalization of education, this study will be limited to examining the policy as applied in the Ukraine; that is, to the Ukrainians and to the other minorities — Poles, Jews, Germans and others — living among them. The Ukrainians, it may be noted, are the largest minority in the Soviet Union; they are the most significant from the point of view of current international relations; and the difficulties encountered by the nationalization policy in the Ukraine were sufficiently complex to provide some insight into the policy as a whole.

Among the Ukrainians, as among the other minorities, the nationalization of education has stemmed from the program on the national question which Lenin formulated before the overthrow of the Tsarist régime. This program, intended to overcome minority nationalism, had to assign a conspicuous place to the language question. To many Ukrainians the treatment of their language by the Imperial government appeared even more onerous than the political oppression which was meted out to Russians and Ukrainians alike. The Ukrainian language was regarded by the government as an uncouth dialect of the Russian language; it was harried from the schools; and it was badgered throughout the literary, scholarly and theatrical worlds. The resulting Ukrainian nationalism, Lenin believed, was a threat to the international unity of the Ukrainian and Russian masses, a unity he regarded as essential for the achievement of socialism; and this Ukrainian nationalism would have to be met with the promise of linguistic equality for the Ukrainians and for all other nationalities. This conception was written into the program on the national question adopted by the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1913, a program which was first intended to apply to a period of "capitalist democracy" but was retained after the establishment of the Soviet government in 1917. The first point in the program stated: "Insofar as national peace is possible in a capitalist society, which is based on exploitation, profits and wrangling, such peace is obtainable only by means of a thoroughly, consistently democratic, republican governmental structure, guaranteeing complete equality to all nations and languages, and by the inclusion in the con-

000 Editor's Note: Since this book is translated from German, the titles of books are translated from German also - instead of from original Ukranian or Russian. Therefore, the original titles are not given, only the translation.

/5/

Foreword

[14 The present work was written in the years 1938/39, - in the period when the West Ukrainians in the, however brief, existence of what was then Poland, were very much excited by an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, the present-day Hungarian Carpathia. It was not only the West Ukrainians who in those days believed the hour of Greak Ukraine had come.

•12 The book represents an attempt, based on a journalist's personal knowledge and a thorough study of the country, to acquaint the German reader with the Ukrainian people, their country, their history, their culture, their way of life and their character.

In spite of the fact that since the book was completed in August 1939, fundamental changes have occurred in the eastern part of Europe as a result of the defeat of Poland and the struggle against Bolshevik Muscovite rule, the book can be published almost unchanged. For there was no 000 change in the terrible fate of the East Ukrainians in the old Soviet Ukraine up to the day of their liberation by German troops. The West Ukrainians in eastern Poland, in Bukovina and Bessarabia - regions which Moscow appropriated more or less forcibly after the collapse of Poland - had to learn during the brief period of

000 the Soviet regime what it means to live in a "workers' paradise". /6/ Not only was its entire intelligentsia deported or physically annihilated, its very highly developed cultural institutions were also completely destroyed.

•121 Now Soviet-Muscovite tyranny over the Ukrainian people has come to an end. We aim to show in this book the state of development of the Ukrainian people and of their economy at the moment of liberation. I am indebted especially to
000 Dr. Olena Kuschnir of Vienna and Professor Panas Fedenko of Prague for their collaboration and reading the manuscript.

Berlin, April 1942 The Author

FOREWORD

121 Resolution 88 of the UNRRA Council authorises and requests the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration "to furnish to the United Nations reports on the work of the Administration and the progress made towards economic rehabilitation in the countries assisted by the Administration."

127 This paper is the thirty-ninth of a series which has been prepared by the Division of Operational Analysis, UNRRA European Regional Office. The papers are based mainly on information received from UNRRA Missions and from the Governments to which they are accredited. Because of the difficulties in obtaining adequate economic data, the accounts given are neither final nor complete. Economic Rehabilitation in the Ukraine was written by Mary Redmer. V.I. Wolpert assisted with translations and statistical material. A complete list of Operational Analysis Papers already issued appears at the end of this paper.

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UNRRA European Regional Office, London.

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